

ENGLISH
POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL
HISTORY

1600 - 1900

Syllabus

*Of a Course of Lectures delivered at Cornell University,
July-August, 1902*

BY

GEORGE ELLIOTT HOWARD

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ENGLISH POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

THE OVERTHROW OF THE ROYAL PREROGATIVE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, 1603-1760.

SECT. I. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE PURITAN REVOLUTION UNDER JAMES I, 1603-25.

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b. On the Continent: Peace between Spain and France at Vervins, 1598; condition of the Netherlands; state of Germany.

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2. Character of James: physically and intellectually a contrast to the Tudors (Green, III, 55 ff).

3. Influence of James' experience in Scotland; influence of Knox; Andrew Melville; James and the Kirk.

4. Pedantry of James (Green, III, 55 ff.)

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1. The Hampton Court Conference, Jan. 1604 (Gee and Hardy, 512).

a. Its purpose: the "Millenary Petition" (Lee, 338-41; Gee and Hardy, 508).

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3. The new canons adopted by Convocation, 1604.
4. Character of Archbishop Abbot, 1610.

IV. James and the Catholics.

1. What the Catholics hoped; James' promises.
2. How far persecuted and repressed under James; banishment of priests, 1604.
3. The Gunpowder Plot, 1604-1605.

V. James and his first two Parliaments.

1. Parliament of 1604-1611.
 - a. The religious question (see above).
 - b. The question of union with Scotland: the *Post Nati*, 1607.
 - c. The new impositions and the proposed "Great Contract"; decision of the Court of Exchequer; the Bate's case; dissolution of Parliament, 1611.
 - d. Bacon's advice.
2. The case of Prohibitions, 1607 (Adams and Stephens, 332-4).
3. The "Addled Parliament," 1614.
 - a. Members.
 - b. Conduct and dissolution.

REFERENCES.

Source Materials: Adams and Stephens, 326 ff.; Lee, 335 ff.; Gee and Hardy, 508 ff.; Colby, 177 ff.; *Calendar of State Papers* (James I), I-III; Gardiner's *Parliamentary Debates in 1610*: in *Camden Society*, 1862; Williams' *Court and Times of James I*, vol. I; Goodman's *Court of King James I*, vol. II (original letters); *Harleian Miscellany*, III, 5-34 (Gunpowder Plot); Kennet's *Complete History*, V, VI.

Secondary Authorities: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 1-20; *Ib.*, *Student's History*, II, 481 ff.; *Ib.*, *History of England*, I, II; Ranke, *Hist. of England*, I; Neal, *Puritans*, I, 227 ff.; Green, III, chaps. i-iii; Hallam, I, 283 ff.; Hume, IV, 378 ff.; Lingard, VII, 1 ff.; Wakeman, *The Church and Puritans*, 62 ff.; Fisher, *Christian Church*, 394 ff.; Fisher, *Reformation*, 433 ff.; Hauser, *Reformation*, 603 ff.; Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas*, 59 ff.; Taylor, II, 210 ff.; Bayne, *Chief Actors*, 27 ff.; Cordery and Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, 1 ff.; Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of King James I*, vol. I; Jesse, *Memoirs*, I, 1-316; Vaughan, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, I, 74 ff.; *Ib.*, *History of Eng. under the House of Stuart*, I, ff.; Harris, *Hist. Account of the Life and Times of James I*; and the works of Gerard, Jardine, and Gardiner on the Gunpowder Plot.

- VI. James and his favorites (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 25 ff.; *Ib.*, *Spanish Marriage*, I, passim).
1. Danger of the Policy; in effect, as in the reign of Edward II, the curia was arrayed against the camera (see Stubbs, on Gaveston and the Despensers).
 2. Rise and character of Robert Carr, 1613-15; made Viscount Rochester, then Earl of Somerset; his connection with the Spanish Marriage project (Gardiner, *Spanish Marriage*, I, 15-29); he distributes the royal patronage; the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury and Somerset's fall.
 3. Rise and character of George Villiers; made Viscount Villiers, then Earl, Marquis, Duke of Buckingham.
- VII. James and the Spanish Marriage (Gardiner, *Spanish Marriage*; *Ib.*, *Puritan Revolution*, 23-44).
1. Significance of James' alliance with Spain; effect of the contrast to Elizabeth's policy; effect on Puritans.
 2. Relation of the alliance to the Thirty Years' War: was James' peace policy wise? His vacillation; loss of the Palatinate.
 3. Project to marry Prince Henry to the Infanta Anna, 1604, and to the Infanta Maria, 1611 (Gardiner, *Spanish Marriage*, I, 6-7); coolness with Spain, 1612.
 4. Renewal of negotiations, 1617; motives of James; the demands of Spain (Gardiner, *Spanish Marriage*, I, 29-30); the journey to Madrid, 1623 (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 39-44).
 5. Diplomacy of the marriage; character and ability of Digby; of Sarmiento, made Count of Gondomar; of Lerma, Spanish minister.
- VIII. James and the Constitution (Hallam, I, chap. vi).
1. Idea of his own prerogative (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 27-8); Cowell's *Interpreter* (Hallam, I, 320-1).
 2. The clergy teach passive obedience; the Articuli cleri 1605 (Hallam, I, 317-20).
 3. The fall of Chief Justice Coke (Hallam, I, 329-31, 337-43).
 4. Expedients for raising money: benevolences, sale of peerages, of monopolies and licenses; sale of new title of Baronet; distraint of knighthood; impositions.

5. Revival of impeachments: that of Mompesson and others; of Bacon; of Middlesex; punishment of Floyd (Hallam, I, 353 ff.)
6. James and his last two Parliaments, 1621-4.

REFERENCES.

Source Materials: Adams and Stephens, 334 ff.; Lee, 341 ff.; Prothero, 250 ff.; *Calendar of State Papers* (James I), III-IV; Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*; Williams' *Court and Times of James I*, vols. I, II; Gardiner's *Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords*, 1621: in *Camden Society*, 1870; *Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons*, 1620-21 (Oxford, 1766); Gardiner's translation of Francisco de Jesu's *El hecho de los tratados del matrimonio*: in *Camden Society*, 1869; various papers in *Harleian Miscellany*, III, IV; Rushworth, *Hist. Collections* I, 1-164; Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*.

Secondary Authorities: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 20-44; *Ib.*, *Students' History*, II, 86-591; *Ib.*, *Spanish Marriage*, I, II; or the same in *Ib.*, *History of England*, III, IV; Seeley, *Growth of British Policy*, I, 263 ff.; Hallam, chap. vi; Green, III, 81-121; Hume, IV, 425 ff.; Lingard, VII, 127 ff.; Goldwin Smith, *United Kingdom*, I, 404 ff.; Bright, II, 581 ff.; Smith, *Hist. Par.*, I, 359; Gneist, *Const. History*, II, 232 ff.; Carlyle, *Historical Sketches of Notable Persons*; Aikin, *Memoirs*, II; the works of Jesse and Vaughan as above cited.

SECT. II. CHARLES I. AND HIS FIRST THREE PARLIAMENTS, 1625-1629.

- I. Accession of Charles.
 1. His character compared with that of James I; his relation to Buckingham.
 2. How embarrassed by his compact with France and others.
 - a. Promises of money.
 - b. Promises of toleration for Catholics.
- II. The first parliament, 1625.
 1. The question of a subsidy: only 140,000 pounds granted.
 2. Commons express lack of confidence in Buckingham: dissolution.
- III. Interval between first and second parliaments, 1625-6.
 1. The Cadiz fiasco, 1625.
 2. Ships loaned to France.
 3. People suspect Buckingham of trying to involve England in war with France.
 4. King makes the leaders of the Commons sheriffs.

IV. The second Parliament, 1626.

1. Leadership of John Eliot; character; his theory of the supremacy of the Commons.
2. Impeachment of Buckingham.
 - a. Eight articles of impeachment.
 - b. King's message interdicting impeachment: disregarded.
3. Imprisonment of Eliot and Digges; Commons resent the violation of privilege; King releases the prisoners.
4. Imprisonment of the Earl of Bristol in violation of the Lords' privilege (Hallam, I, 371-3).

V. The second interval, 1626-7.

1. War with France; failure of the expedition to Rhé (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 55-57).
2. The "free gift" and the "forced loan," 1626.
 - a. Imprisonment of men who refused the loan; impressment of others for the navy.
 - b. The "Five knights" case before the King's bench (Hallam, I, 375-79; Gardiner, *Documents*, pp. xxii-iii; *Ib.*, *Revolution*, 57).
 - c. Billeting soldiers and martial law.

VI. The Third Parliament, 1628-9.

1. The first session, 1628.
 - a. The Petition of Right: text (Adams and Stephens, 339-42; Gardiner, *Documents*, 1-5; Creasy, 291 ff.); the debate (in Creasy, 286 ff.); the King's assent; importance of the statute.
 - b. The King's bad faith shown in his conference with the judges (Hallam, I, 382-4).
 - c. The Remonstrance against Tonnage and Poundage (Gardiner, *Documents*, 5-7; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 61-3).
 - d. King's speech at the prorogation, June 26, 1628 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 8-9).
2. Interval between the sessions.
 - a. Assassination of Buckingham, August 23, 1628.
 - b. The question of imposts: Petition of Right vs. the Bate's case precedent.
 - c. Religious difficulties; cases of Montagu and Manwarring; rise of High Church principles; Sabbath observance; Arminian controversy (Hallam, 386 ff.)
 - d. The King's Declaration (Gardiner, *Documents*, 9-11).

3. The second session.

- a. Rolle's privilege: position of Pym.
- b. Discussion of religious innovations; resolutions of the sub-committee of the Commons (Gardiner, *Documents*, 11-16).
- c. Breach with the King; the Three Resolutions, 1629 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 16-17).
- d. King's Declaration showing cause of the dissolution of Third Parliament (Gardiner, *Documents*, 17-31).

VII. Statesmanship of Eliot, Pym, and Wentworth compared.

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Source Materials: Gardiner, *Documents*, pp. xxi-xxvii, 1-31; Adams and Stephens, 339-46; Lee, 348-52 (Petition of Right); *Calendar of State Papers* (Charles I), I-III; Rushworth, *Collections*, I, 165-691; *Statutes of the Realm*, V; Gardiner's *Notes of the Debates in the House of Lords*, 1624 and 1626: in *Camden Society*, 1879; his *Debates in the House of Commons*, 1625: in *Camden Society*, n.s., 6, 1873; his *Documents Illustrating the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham in 1626*: in *Camden Society*, n.s., 45, 1889; Williams' *Court and Times of Charles I*; Whitelock's *Memorials*, 1-14; *Harleian Miscellany*, XII, 50-72.

Secondary Authorities: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 48-71; *Ib.*, *Students' History*, II; *Ib.*, *Buckingham*, I, II; or the same in *Ib.*, *Hist. of England*, V, VI; Forster, *Eliot*; Ranke, *History of England*, I; Goldwin Smith, *United Kingdom*, I, 468 ff.; Seeley, *Growth of British Policy*, I, 330 ff.; Hallam, I, chap. vii; Creasy, *Constitution*, 280 ff.; Green, III, chap. v; Hume, v, 1 ff.; Lingard, VII, 283 ff.; Ransome, *Constitution*, 138 ff.; Taylor, II, 253 ff.; Bayne, *Chief Actors*, 103 ff. (Henrietta and Buckingham), 149 ff. (Charles I); Cordery and Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, 29 ff.; Guizot, *Eng. Revolution*, 79 ff.; Harris, *Hist. Account of the Life and Writings of Charles I*; Jesse, *Memoirs*, I, 317 ff.; II, 1-122; Aiken, *Memoirs of the Court of King Charles I*; Vaughan, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, I, 350 ff.; *Ib.*, *Hist. of England under the House of Stuart*, I, 204 ff.; Chancellor, *Life of Charles I* (1600-1625); Neal, *Puritans*, I, 278 ff.; Masson, *Life of Milton*, I.

SECT. III. THE REIGN OF THOROUGH: UNPARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT, 1629-1640.

I. Four years of preparation, 1629-1633.

- 1. Was Charles justifiable in the attempt to rule without Parliament; his proclamation.
 - a. Charles' idea of his prerogative and of his constitutional powers (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 71-3).
 - b. Narrowness and intolerance of the Parliament of 1628-9.

2. The ministers of Charles.
 - a. Treasurer Weston: character and policy; expedients to raise money.
 - b. Laud, bishop of London: his character; Star Chamber sentences; his ecclesiastical changes.
 - c. Wentworth, president of the Council of the North; his ideal of government.
3. Types of Anglican clergy.
 - a. George Herbert (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 79).
 - b. Richard Sibbes (Gardiner, 80-1).
4. Prosecutions of Eliot, Holles, Valentine, and others for conduct in Parliament.
 - a. The question of freedom of speech in Parliament (Hallam, I, 412-415).
 - b. Death of Sir John Eliot (Forster, *Eliot*, II; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 70-1; Hallam, I, 415).
 - c. The Act of 1667 (Hallam, I, 416).

II. Seven years of Thorough, 1634-1640.

1. Administration of Archbishop Laud.
 - a. Policy and character.
 - b. The renewal of the "Declaration of Sports," 1633 (see Gardiner, *Documents*, 31-5).
 - c. The Communion Table (Gardiner, *Documents*, 35-7, Act of the Privy Council).
 - d. Laud's use of ceremonial (Hume, IV, chap. 32).
 - e. Sentence of Prynne, 1634; his "Histriomastix."
 - f. The metropolitical visitation, 1634.
2. Civil administration.
 - a. Forest Courts (Hallam, I, 503; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 90).
 - b. Monopolies, etc.
 - c. Ship money (Rushworth, II, 252 ff.)
 1. The first levy: the writ (in Gardiner, *Documents*, 37-9).
 2. The second and third levies. Consultation of the judges (Gardiner, *Documents*, 40).
 3. Hampden's case: speeches of St. John and Berkeley (Gardiner, *Documents*, 41-54).
3. Punishment of Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton, 1637 (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 94-5; (Milton's *Lycidas* (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 96).

4. Wentworth's Reign of Thorough as Lord Deputy in Ireland, 1634-7 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 97-102).
 5. Resistance in Scotland, 1637-1640.
 - a. Why James established Episcopacy in Scotland.
 - b. The New Prayer Book, 1637.
 - c. The four tables (Committees) take control.
 - d. The Covenant signed, 1638 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 54-64).
 - e. Hamilton in Scotland: Episcopacy abolished by Glasgow Assembly, 1638.
 - f. The First Bishops' War, 1639.
 - g. The English Short Parliament, 1640; influence of Wentworth (Earl of Strafford).
 - h. The Second Bishops' War, 1640.
 - i. A Great Council summoned: advice of the Peers (see Gardiner, *Documents*, 64-6).
- III. Summary of abuses and illegal acts of the period, 1629-40 (Hallam, I, chap. viii).
1. Expedients to raise money.
 - a. Tonnage and poundage.
 - b. Monopolies; the soap monopoly (Hallam, I, 420).
 - c. Compulsory knighthood.
 - d. Forest laws, etc.
 - e. Ship money.
 2. Proclamations.
 3. Star Chamber sentences (Taswell-Langmead, 581-4; Hallam).

REFERENCES.

Source Materials: Gardiner's *Documents*, 31-66; Adams and Stephens, 347-50; Lee, 352-7 (ship-money); Rushworth, *Collections*, II, III; Thurloe, *State Papers*, I, 1 ff.; *Calendar of State Papers* (Charles I), III-XVI; Gardiner's *Notes on the Judgment delivered by Sir George Croke in the case of ship-money*: in *Camden Society*, Misc, vol. VII, 1875; *Ib.*, *Documents relating to the Proceedings against William Prynne in 1634 and 1637*: in *Camden Society*, n. s., vol. 18, 1877; *Ib.*, *Report of Cases in the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission*: in *Camden Society*, n. s., vol. 39, 1886; *Ib.*, *Hamilton Papers*, 1-103: in *Camden Society*, n. s., vol. 27, 1880; Whitelock's *Memorials*, 14-33; Green's *Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*; Wallington's *Historical Notices*; Baillie, *Letters*, I, 1-288; May, *Long Par.*, 27 ff.

Secondary Authorities: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 71-110; *Ib.*, *Student's History*, II, 514 ff.; *Ib.*, *Hist. of England*, VII-IX; Ranke, *Hist. of England*, II, 1-212; Hume, V.; Rogers, *Hist. Gleanings* (Laud); Gneist, *Hist. Parliament*, 252 ff.; Smith, *Hist. Parliament*, I, 387 ff.; Ransome, *Constitution*, 149 ff.; Green, III, 153 ff.; Jesse, *Memoirs*, II, 123 ff.; Bayne, *Chief Actors*, 57 ff. (Laud and Strafford); Cordery and Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, 51 ff.; Guizot, *Eng. Revolution*, 34-85; Vaughan, *Memorials*, I, 445 ff.; Masson, *Milton*, I, II; Neal, *Puritans*, I, 297 ff.; and the works of Bright, Lingard, and Taylor.

SECT. IV. THE FIRST WORK OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT,
1640-1642.

- I. The restoration of the constitution (Hallam, I, 498-506; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 110 ff.; Gardiner, *Documents*, 67 ff.)
 1. Character and composition of the Parliament.
 2. The Triennial Act, February 15, 1641 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 74-84; Adams and Stephens, 350-9).
 - a. Provisions.
 - b. Constitutional significance.
 3. The Impr~~ess~~ment Act, February 13, 1641-2 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 164-6; Hallam, I, 503).
 4. Tonnage and Poundage Act, June 22, 1641.
 5. Act for abolition of the Star Chamber, July 5, 1641 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 106-12; Adams and Stephens, 363-6).
 - a. Jurisdiction of Star Chamber and Council taken away.
 - b. Jurisdiction of Council of North and other extraordinary courts abolished.
 - c. The council may still examine and commit; but under right of writ of habeas corpus.
 6. Court of High Commission abolished, July 5, 1641 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 112-115; Adams and Stephens, 366-9).
 7. Act for limitation of forests, August 7, 1641 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 117-21).
 8. Act prohibiting knighthood fees, August 10, 1641 (Lee, 355; Gardiner, *Documents*, 121-2).
 9. Act declaring ship-money illegal and judgment against Hampden declared null, August 17, 1641 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 115-17; Adams and Stephens, 369-71).
 10. Real significance of the series of great statutes enumerated (Hallam, I, 504-6).
- II. The trial and punishment of Strafford (Hallam, I, 507-14; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 111-113; *Ib.*, *Documents*, 85-7).
 1. The procedure by impeachment: was it justified? Alleged conduct of Vane? Position of Pym?
 2. The procedure by bill of attainder.
 3. Was Strafford's punishment just?
- III. Act against dissolving the Long Parliament, May 11, 1641, made parliamentary despotism possible (Gardiner, *Documents*, 87-8).

IV. The attack on the bishops.

1. The "Root and Branch Petition," December 11, 1640 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 67-73).
2. First bill against the bishops fails in the Lords, July 1-3, 1641 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 94-100; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 116).
3. The "Root and Branch Bill" in the Commons.
4. Falkland, Hyde, and the moderate church party: its weakness; the King's failure to support the party (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 116-118).

V. The Grand Remonstrance, December 1, 1641.

1. Effect of the King's visit to Scotland, and of the Irish insurrection (Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 119-20).
2. Spirit of the Remonstrance: the debate.
3. Provisions of the Remonstrance (Gardiner, *Documents*, 127-154; Adams and Stephens, 376-80).
4. Reception of King on return from Scotland by people of London.
5. Impeachment and attempted arrest of the Five Members (Gardiner, *Documents*, 158-63).
6. The Commons in the Guildhall; King leaves Whitehall (January 10, 1642).
7. The Clerical Disabilities Act, February 13, 1642; and the struggle for the command of the militia (Gardiner, *Documents*, 163-4, 166-8, 169 ff.).

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Source Materials: Gardiner's *Documents*, 67 ff.; Adams and Stephens, 350-83; Lee, 355 ff.; Colby, 188 ff.; *Calendar of State Papers* (Charles I), xvi-xvii; Johnson's *Fairfax Correspondence: Memorials of the Reign of Charles I*; Gardiner's *Hamilton Papers*, 103 ff.; Whitelock's *Memorials*, 33 ff.; Rushworth's *Collections*, III, 1084 ff.; *Ib.*, *Tryal of Strafford*; May, *History of the Long Parliament*, 70 ff.; Bruce's *Notes of the Treaty . . . at Ripon*: in *Camden Society*, 1869; *Ib.*, *Verney Papers: Notes of Proceedings in the Long Parliament*: in *Camden Society*, 31, 1874; Clarendon, *Great Rebellion*; *Harleian Miscellany*, IV; Thurloe, *State Papers*, I; Knowler's *Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches*; Baillie's *Letters*, I. II.

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SECT. V. THE CIVIL WAR AND THE FALL OF THE MONARCHY,
1642-1649.

I. Beginning of the Civil War.

1. Conservatism of the Commons and of their leader, Pym.
 - a. As to uniformity of belief.
 - b. As to institutions.
2. War begins: King's standard set up at Nottingham, Aug. 22, 1642; elements of the King's army; Powick Bridge, Sept. 22; Edgehill, Oct. 23; incompetency of Essex.
3. Royalist successes: defence of London, Nov. 13.
4. Propositions presented to the King at Oxford, Feb. 1, 1643 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 182-186): compare with the "Nineteen Propositions" of June 1, 1642 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 170-175).
5. Rise of Oliver Cromwell.
 - a. Origin and character.
 - b. His regiment of "Ironsides."
6. Campaign of 1643.
 - a. Royalist successes in the South.
 - b. Death of Hampden at Chalgrove Field, June 24, 1643 (Green, III, 220-5).
 - c. First battle of Newbury indecisive: death of Falkland.

II. Presbyterians and Independents.

1. The Westminster Assembly, 1643.
2. The "Solemn League and Covenant," Sept. 25, 1643 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 187-90; Green, III, 226-8).
 - a. Arose in need of Scotch alliance.
 - b. Determines ultimate adoption of Presbyterianism by Parliament.
 - c. Fanaticism of the Puritans.
3. Death of Pym, December 6, 1643.
4. Execution of Laud, January 10, 1644 (Rogers', *Gleanings*, 121-7).
5. Rise of the Independents (Green, III, 234 ff.; Gooch, chaps. I, II, III).
 - a. Principles of the Separatists.
 - b. The propagation of sects (Masson's *Life of Milton*); rise of the doctrine of toleration of "Liberty of conscience" (Gooch).
 - c. Bigotry of the Presbyterians; death of Chillingworth and conduct of Cheynell (Gardiner, *Revolution*, 134-5).

III. The great battles and end of the first Civil War.

1. Independency in the army.
 - a. The "Eastern Association" formed by Hampden (Green, III); placed under Manchester, 1643; progress of Cromwell.
 - b. Marston Moor, July 2, 1644 (Carlyle's *Letters of Cromwell*, I, 149-152): a victory for the Independents (Gardiner, *Revolution*, 139).
2. The "new model" and the "self-denying ordinance" (Carlyle's *Letters*, I, 153-8; Gardiner, *Revolution*, 140-2; *Ib.*, *Documents*, 205-6).
3. Suspension of the self-denying ordinance in favor of Cromwell.
4. Montrose overruns Scotland.
5. Battle of Naseby, June, 1645 (Carlyle's *Letters*, I, 165-170).
6. Montrose beaten at Philiphaugh, September 13, 1645.
7. War ends with surrender of Raglan Castle, Aug., 1646.

IV. Struggle between the army and parliament, 1645-1649 (Green, III, ch. X).

1. The King puts himself in the hands of the Scots; they take him to Newcastle, May, 1646.
2. The Puritan army; sects; religious feeling; Cromwell's toleration (Gardiner, *Revolution*, 144-5).
3. The Parliament's propositions made to the King, July, 1645 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 208-222; *Ib.*, *Revolution*, 145-6); the King's answers (*Documents*, 223-232).
4. The King put in the hands of Parliamentary commissioners, Jan. 30, 1647; and is kept at Holmby House until June 4, when he is brought to the army and conducted to Newmarket (Gardiner, *Revolution*, 146-7).
5. The eleven Presbyterian members of the House excluded by the army (Carlyle's *Letters*, I, 206-223).
6. Proposals of the army to the King, August 1, 1647 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 232-241).
7. Flight of King to Isle of Wight, November 11, 1647; he intrigues with the Scots for an invasion of England (Gardiner, *Documents*, 259-264).
8. The second Civil War: insurrections in England, 1648; the Scots defeated at Preston, August 17, 1648.
9. The army Remonstrance, November 20, 1648: the King to be brought to justice.
10. Pride's Purge, December 6, 1648.

11. The trial and execution of the King (Green, III, 258-63; Gardiner, *Documents*, 268-290, *Ib.*, *Great Civil War*).

REFERENCES.

Source Materials: Gardiner's *Documents*, 182-290; Adams and Stephens, 383 ff.; Lee, 348-72, 364-6 (charge against the King); Rushworth, *Collections*, IV (547 ff.)-VII; *Calendar of State Papers* (Charles I), xviii-xxii; Clarendon, *Great Rebellion*, I, II; Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*, I; Cary's *Memorials of the Great Civil War*, 1646-52; Bell's *Fairfax Correspondence: Memorials of the Civil War*; Warner's *Nicholas Papers* (1641-56): in *Camden Society*, n. s., vols. 40 (1886), 50 (1892), 57 (1897); Guthry's *Memoirs*; Whitelock's *Memorials*, 57-385; May, *Long Parliament*, 58 ff.; Thurloe, *State Papers*, I; Ludlow's *Memoirs*; Nalson's *Collections*; Shaw's *Plundered Ministers' Accounts*: in *Record Society*, 28 (1893), 34 (1897); Stanning's *Royalist Composition Papers*: in *Record Society*, 24 (1891), 26 (1892), 29 (1894), 36 (1898); Green's *Cal. of Procds. of Committee for Advance of Money*, 1642-56; *Ib.*, *Cal. of Procds. of Committee for Compounding*, 1643-1660.

Secondary Authorities: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 125-153; *Ib.*, *Student's History*, II, 532-60; *Ib.*, *Hist. of England*, X; *Ib.*, *Great Civil War*, I-IV; Ranke, *Hist. of England*, II; Green, III, 217-63; Hosmer, *Sir Henry Vane*, 137 ff.; Smith, *Hist. Parliament*, I, 416 ff.; Hume, V, 227 ff.; Bright, II, 658 ff.; Lingard, VIII; Bayne, *Chief Actors*, 249 ff. (Vane), 389 ff. (Cromwell), 437 ff. (Clarendon); Cordery and Phillpotts, *King and Commonwealth*, 123 ff.; Guizot, *Eng. Revolution*, 161-436; Neal, *Puritans*, I, 409 ff.; Masson, *Milton*, II-IV; and especially Markham's *Great Lord Fairfax*.

SECT. VI. THE INTERREGNUM, 1649-1660.

A. The Commonwealth, 1649-1653 (Dec. 16).

I. Results of the execution of Charles.

1. Was his execution legal? Was it politically justifiable?
Was it politically expedient?
2. Was there just cause for deposition, if not for execution?
3. Charles' view of his own authority.
4. Was the overthrow of the monarchy historically justifiable?

II. Establishment of the commonwealth.

1. Council of State (of 41 members) created by ordinance, February 13, 1649 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 290-3).
2. Office of King abolished, March 17, 1649 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 294-6).
3. House of Lords abolished, March 19, 1649 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 296-7).
4. Commonwealth established by ordinance, May 19, 1649 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 297).

III. History of the commonwealth.

1. Cromwell's conquest of Ireland, 1649-1652.
 - a. Origin of the war; state of Ireland (Carlyle, I, 374-80).
 - b. Alliance of Royalists and native Roman Catholics.
 - c. Massacres of Drogheda (Aug. 15, 1649) and Wexford: criticism of Cromwell's conduct (see the letters in Carlyle, I, 380-392).
 - d. Confiscation of the three provinces (Gardiner, *Rev.*, 156-7; Carlyle, I, 426-9).
2. Charles II and Scotland.
 - a. Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650 (Carlyle, I, 457-476).
 - b. Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651: Cromwell's "Crowning mercy."
 - c. Charles escapes to France.
3. Dissolution of the Long Parliament.
 - a. The revolutionary force was spent: ideas and ideals of Cromwell and other leaders (Gardiner, *Revolution*, 159-61).
 - b. Scheme of Parliament for a new Parliament.
 - c. The Act of Navigation (1651); and the Dutch war, 1652 (Green, III, 275-7).
 - d. Corruption in Parliament.
 - e. Dissolution, April 20, 1653; Declaration of the Lord General and the Council, April 22, 1653 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 308-315; see Carlyle, II).
4. The Assembly of 140 nominees ("Barebone's Parliament").
 - a. Cromwell's speech (Carlyle, II, 33 ff).
 - b. Conduct of the assembly.
 - c. Its resignation, Dec. 11, 1653.

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B. *The Protectorate, 1653-1660.*

- I. General character of the instrument of government (Gardiner, *Documents*, 314-325, lvi-lxii).
 1. "First" written English constitution; its remarkably enlightened provisions (Gardiner, *Documents*, 166-8; Adams and Stephens, 407-16).
 2. Provisions for toleration and civil liberty.
- II. Oliver's nine months of government before the meeting of Parliament.

- III. Oliver's first Parliament, Sept. 3, 1654, to Jan. 22, 1655.
 1. Composition.
 2. The Parliament questions the instrument.
 3. It is purged by Cromwell of recalcitrant members.
 4. Dissolution, Jan. 22, 1655.
- IV. The ten major-generals, 1655-1657.
 1. Toleration by force.
 2. Pendraddock's Rising; the Royalists foot the bill.
 3. Episcopalianism suppressed, Nov. 27, 1655.
 4. Massacre in Piedmont and the quarrel with Spain.
- V. Oliver's second Parliament, Sept. 17, 1656, to Jan. 20, 1658.
 1. Oliver's opening speech (Carlyle, II, 218 ff.).
 2. Exclusion of members.
 3. The "Petition and Advice" (Gardiner, *Documents*, lxiii, 334-345); inauguration of the Protector, June 26, 1655 (Green, III, 299-300).
 4. Oliver refuses title of king: Did he wish it? Why did he refuse it? (Green, III, 298-9; Carlyle, II, 267 ff.).
- VI. Last days of Oliver.
 1. He sees that his system is doomed.
 2. Greatness of his foreign policy.
 3. Death, Sept. 3, 1658.
- VII. The Restoration.
 1. Richard Cromwell, Protector; disliked by the army.
 2. The Third Parliament dissolved, April 22, 1659.
 3. Long Parliament recalled.
 4. Intervention of Monk.
 5. The "Rump" dissolved, March 16, 1660.
 6. The Declaration of Breda, April 4, 1660 (Gardiner, *Documents*, 351-2).

REFERENCES.

Source Materials: Gardiner, *Documents*, 291 ff.; Adams and Stephens, 394 ff.; Lee, 373-93; *Calendar of State Papers*, 1649-60; Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*; Stainer, *Speeches of Cromwell*; Burton, *Diary* (1656-9); Clarendon, *Great Rebellion*; Thurloe, *State Papers*; Firth's *Clarke Papers* (1647-60); Warner's *Nicholas Papers* (1641-56); Whitelock's *Memorials*, 385 ff.

Secondary Authorities: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 154 ff.; *Ib.*, *Student's History*, II, 561 ff.; *Ib.*, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*; Green, III, 264 ff.; Hallam, II, chap. x; Taylor, II, 340 ff.; Guizot, *George Monk*; *Ib.*, *Richard Cromwell and the Restoration*; Jesse, *Memoirs*, II, 235 ff.; Bayne, *Chief Actors*, 249 ff., 389 ff.; Bisset, *History of the Commonwealth*; Ranke *Hist. of England*, II-III; Godwin, *History of the Commonwealth*; Vaughan, *The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell* (contains original letters of Thurloe, Lockhart, Pell,

etc.); Traill, *Social England*, IV., chaps. 13-14; Neal, *Puritans*, I, II; Masson, *Milton*, IV, V; Marsden, *Later Puritans*; Stace, *Cromwelliana*; Prendergast, *The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland*; Murphy, *Cromwell in Ireland*. See also Inderwick, *Interregnum*; Jenks, *Constitutional Experiments*; Goldwin Smith, *United Kingdom*, I. 572 ff.; Gooch, *Democratic Ideas*; the histories of Hume, Bright, Lingard, Taswell-Langmead; and the literature of Cromwell mentioned in sec. VIII and the "select Bibliography."

SECT. VII. THE CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE, 1649-1660.

I. Relative importance of the period.

1. First general result: assumption by Parliament of the business of government.
2. Second general result: "The birth of modern political thought" (Jenks, 5).
3. Third general result: the subjects or prototypes of future reforms established.

II. Remnants of the old constitution in 1649.

1. Nominally the Commons remained: number of members (Jenks, 9).
2. Parts destroyed.
 - a. Kingship and royal council; the Star Chamber; High Commission; Council of the North; of Wales.
 - b. The county lord lieutenants.
3. Justices; uncertain powers.
4. Sheriffs appointed by the House; municipalities controlled by same.
5. The revolution not essentially a social revolution.

III. The Republic, 1649-1653: rule of parliament.

1. Rule by committees.
2. Dignity and power of Parliament; its pedantry.
3. The army as a constitutional organ: (a) Council of officers (b) Assembly of Adjutators; (c) various functions (Jenks, 16-17).
4. "Nascent" organism (Jenks, 18-19).
5. Plans for reconstruction.
 - a. "Agreement of the people" or Army Plan (Gardiner, *Documents*, 270 ff.; Jenks, 25).
 - b. Plan of the Congregations.
 - c. Plan of Parliament.
6. The Council of State of 41: rule by sub-committees.
7. Attitude of Parliament toward the army.

8. Parliamentary corruption (Jenks, 45 ff.).
9. Insincerity of Parliament: intentionally prolongs its power.
10. Failure of Parliament in finance and foreign affairs.

IV. The Protectorate, 1653-1660.

1. Cromwell, Captain-General: his first council eight officers and four civilians).
2. The assembly of Nominees or "Little Parliament," July 4, Dec. 11, 1653.
 - a. How summoned?
 - b. Character.
 - c. Conduct: dissolution.
3. The Instrument of Government (germ in the Army Plan.)
 - a. Significance of, as a written constitution.
 - b. Executive: a Lord Protector and a council of 13-21: Protector with suspensive veto and to be chosen by the Council.
 - c. Parliament: (1) 400 members; (2) 30 members each from Scotland and Ireland; (3) borough representation reformed.
 - d. Fixed revenue.
4. The First Protectorate Parliament, 1654-5.
5. The Majors-General, 1655, and the "decimation tax"; Cromwell's intention? (Jenks, 98 ff.)
6. The Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656-7: the "Petition and Advice," 1657.
7. Views of the Republicans seen in Vane's *Healing Question* (1656). See Jenks, 104.

V. General results of legislative experiments (Inderwick, chaps. i-ii.

REFERENCES.

See preceding syllabus; and especially the works of Jenks, Inderwick, and Gooch. For the legislation of the period, consult Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances*.

SECT. VIII. THE PLACE OF OLIVER CROMWELL IN THE HISTORY OF INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS.

- I. He is the product of the age, of ethical and social evolution; hence his mission is two-fold.
 1. To restore to Englishmen the right of constitutional and social liberty; and to point the way to its fuller realization.

- a. Results of the Tudor policy.
 - b. Results of the Stuart policy.
 - c. Relation of the State and church before and after the Protestant Revolution compared.
- 2. To prepare the way for the full recognition of liberty of conscience.
 - a. The mediæval idea: The Pope as head of the Universal Church; the disastrous effect of appeal to authority in spiritual matters; psychological helplessness of mediæval man; need of a material crutch for faith; hence image-worship, mariolatry, and adoration of saints.
 - b. Luther touches the triple crown of the Pope; significance of the Reformation.
 - c. The King-Pope; the new idea of church and state.
 - d. Divine prerogative of kings: the new crutch for faith; Filmer's philosophy of the divine prerogative.
 - e. Cromwell touches the dual crown of the King-Pope.

II. The Riddle of Cromwell's character: The two Paradoxes.

- 1. The religious.
 - a. His Puritanism; influence of Hebraism; the belief in a Providence imminent in the world (Carlyle, I, 437-8, 447-8).
 - b. His independency; practical toleration; his narrowness the product of survival and environment.
- 2. The political.
 - a. His political conservatism.
 - b. His political liberalism.

III. How Cromwell solves his own riddle: his life reveals a great soul earnestly striving to find a righteous solution of the tremendous cases of conscience which the times and the nation laid upon him.

- 1. The problems of the civil war and King's execution.
- 2. Problem of the conduct of the righteous warrior.
 - a. His military dispatches: Marston Moor (Carlyle, I, 150); Naseby (Carlyle, I, 168-9); Dunbar (Carlyle, I, 471); Worcester (Carlyle, I, 554).
 - b. The punishment of Ireland: Drogheda (Carlyle).
 - c. The treatment of Scotland (Carlyle, I, 558 ff.).
 - d. Treatment of insurrectionists; of the Levelers (see Smith, in *Three English Statesmen*).

3. Problem of the conduct of the righteous statesmen.
 - a. Expulsion of the Long Parliament; of subsequent Parliaments; he comprehended the nature of a revolution.
 - b. Intolerance to Catholics and Anglicans; the practical reasons?
 - c. Question of acceptance of Crown: why might he justly desire it?

IV. Practical results of Cromwell's work.

1. Legal reforms.
2. Constitutional reforms.
3. Religious reforms.
4. Foreign policy: Cromwell supersedes Gustavus Adolphus as head of European Protestantism (see Smith).
5. Social and economic policy.

V. Estimate of his place in history; comparison with Napoleon; with Cæsar; with Washington.

REFERENCES.

Gardiner, *Cromwell's Place in History* (London, 1897); *Ib.*, *Oliver Cromwell* (London, Paris, and New York, 1899); Morley, *Oliver Cromwell*; Smith, in *Three Eng. Statesmen*, 54-144; Baldock, *Cromwell as a Soldier*; Bischoffshausen, *Die Politik des Protectors Oliver Cromwell*; Brosch, *Cromwell die the Puritanische Revolution*; Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England*; Harrison, *Oliver Cromwell*; Picton, *Oliver Cromwell*; *The Man and his Mission*; Roosevelt, *Oliver Cromwell*. See also Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell*; Stainer's *Speeches*; the works of Green, Hallam, Gooch, Jenks, Inderwick; and the Cromwell literature mentioned in the "Select Bibliography."

SECT. IX. THE RESTORATION AND THE REIGN OF CHARLES II, 1660-1685.

I. General significance of the Restoration.

1. The work of the Revolution did not perish.
 - a. Puritanism was not extinct; but it had "laid down the sword" (Green, III, 321).
 - b. Explanation of the wild enthusiasm with which the Restoration was hailed.
 - c. Three great results of the Puritan Revolution (Creasy, chap. xvi, pp. 268 ff.).
2. Characteristics of the age: the beginning of modern England.

- a. Social revolution; vice and immorality of the period: Hamilton's *Memoirs of Grammont* (Green, III, 327 ff.).
- b. Scientific awakening; the Royal Society.
- c. The new rationalism; latitudinarian philosophy; rising skepticism; political philosophy.

II. Charles II and his policy (Green, III, 336 ff.; Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 197).

- 1. His character; his vices and levity; religious sympathies.
- 2. His domestic policy; dissolution of the Union; desire for a standing army; views as to his prerogative.
- 3. His foreign policy; relations with France.
- 4. His first ministry; character of Clarendon; of Ashley Cooper (Green, III, 350 ff., 35-8).

III. Beginning of the reign: Work of the Convention (Hallam, II, 68 ff.; Green, III, 351 ff.)

- 1. Act of Indemnity and the exclusion of the regicides.
- 2. Restoration of crown, church, and Royalist lands.
- 3. Abolition of military tenures; excise substituted (Hallam, II, 76-8).
- 4. Clergy restored to their benefices; case of the Presbyterians.
- 5. Dissolution of the Convention Parliament; theory of the lawyers.

IV. The first work of the Cavalier or Long Parliament of the Restoration, 1661-1679.

- 1. Composition of the parliament.
- 2. Condemnation of Vane (Hallam, II, 88-91).
- 3. King's prerogatives restored.
- 4. The Corporations Act and the doctrine of "non-resistance," 1661 (Adams and Stephens, 425-7).
- 5. Repeal of the Triennial Act.
- 6. Star Chamber not restored.
- 7. Act of Uniformity and the ejection of non-conformist clergy 1662; "Dissenters" supersede "non-conformists."
- 8. Charles and the Catholics; his declaration of indulgence, 1662-3 (Hallam, II, 164 ff.).
- 9. The Conventicles Act, 1664 (Adams and Stephens, 431-3).
- 10. The Five Mile Act, 1665 (Adams and Stephens, 433-4).

V. Rise of Parliamentary opposition.

1. Parliamentary view of the constitution; control of finance.
2. War with the Dutch, 1664-7: rise of the "court" and "country" parties; the latter demands control of expenditures; its relation to the Dissenters.
3. Clarendon's policy and his fall, 1667: causes?
4. The rise and fall of the "Cabal" ministry, 1667-1673 (Hallam, II, 134 ff.).
5. Administration of Danby, 1673-1678: impeachment (Hallam, 154-178).

VI. The Question of Toleration.

1. Why Charles adopted the policy of toleration; he wished to include the Catholics.
2. The Triple Alliance, 1668: England, Sweden, and Dutch Netherlands vs. France.
3. The secret treaty of Dover, 1676: Charles bought by Louis XIV; Charles to declare war against Dutch and confess himself a Catholic.
4. Declaration of Indulgence, 1672; withdrawn, 1673; conduct of Dissenters (Adams and Stephens, 434-6; Cobbett's *Par. Hist.*, IV, 515).
5. The Test Act, 1673: Duke of York excluded from office (Adams and Stephens, 436-9).

VII. Last days of Charles, 1678-1685 (see Macaulay).

1. The Popish Plot, 1678 (Hallam, II, 176-183; Macaulay, I, 216 ff.).
2. The new Parliament: "Petitioners and Abhorrrers;" the session at Oxford; impeachments (Hallam, II, 194-204); rise of "Whig" and "Tory."
3. Forfeiture of the Borough charters, 1683-5.
4. Projects of Russell and Sidney; their trial (Hallam, II, 208 ff.; Macaulay).
5. Death of Charles.

VIII. Constitutional questions (Hallam, II, 221 ff.)

1. Rights of juries maintained: the Bushnell case (Creasy, 272-3; Hallam, II, 228 ff.)
2. The Habeas Corpus Act (Text in Creasy, 270-1, Adams and Stephens, 440-8; Lee, 400-8; see Blackstone, III, 137).
3. Other questions (see Hallam).

REFERENCES.

Source Materials: Adams and Stephens, 425 ff.; Lee, 394-413; *Calendar of State Papers (Charles II)*, 1660-73, 14 vols.; *Statutes of the Realm*; Howell's *State Trials*; Somers, *Tracts*; *Boscobel Tracts*; *Harleian Miscellany*, VII; Grey, *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1667-94; Cobbett, *Parliamentary History*; Sidney, *Diary of the Times of Charles II*; Jusserand's *A French Ambassador at the Court of Charles II*; Luttrell, *State Affairs*, 1678-1714; Hamilton, *Memoirs of Count Grammont*; the diaries of Pepys, Evelyn, and Reresby; Elwood's *History*; Kennet's *Register*.

Secondary Authorities: Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 190-205; *Ib.*, *Student's History*, II, 568 ff.; Hale, *Fall of the Stuarts*, 1 ff.; Airy, *The Eng. Restoration and Louis XIV*; Adams, *The Merry Monarch*; Macanlay, I, ch. ii; Green, III, 321 ff.; Creasy, chap. xvi; Hallam, II, 68-265; Taylor, II, 358 ff.; Hosmer, *Sir Henry Vane*, 480 ff.; Ranke, *Hist. of England*, III, IV; Stern, *Milton und seine Zeit*; Masson, *Life of Milton*, VI; Seeley, *Growth of British Policy*, II; Traill, *Social England*, IV; Jesse, *Memoirs*, II, 395 ff., III, 1-416; Vaughan, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, II, 272 ff.; *Ib.*, *Hist. of England under the House of Stuart*, II, 571 ff.; Harris, *Historical Account of the Life of Charles II*; Strickland, *Lives of the last four Princesses of the Royal House of Stuart*; Jameson, *Memoirs of the Beauties of the Court of Charles II*; Cunningham, *The Story of Nell Gwyn*; Forneron, *Louise de Keroualle*.

SECT. X. THE REVOLUTION OF 1688.

I. The Constitution under James II, 1685-1688.

1. Character and intellect of the king: his religious and political tendencies.
2. Monmouth's rising; the Bloody Circuit of Jeffries.
3. Dispensations by non-obstante confirmed by the judges; other abuses (mentioned in Bill of Rights).
4. Declaration of indulgence, 1687 (Adams and Stephens, 451-4).
5. The new High Commission, 1686.
6. The doctrine of non-resistance.
7. Attack on the liberties of Magdalen College, Oxford.
8. June 10, 1688, birth of a son to James: immediate cause of the revolution.

II. The Revolution of 1688-9.

1. How the revolution was brought about; the question of the title of William.
2. Descent, character, and ability of William.
3. First mutiny Act, 1689 (Adams and Stephens, 457-8).
4. Toleration Act, May 24, 1689 (Adams and Stephens 459-62).
5. Bill of Rights, Dec. 16, 1789 (Adams and Stephens, 462-9; Lee, 424-31).

- a. Statement of grievances.
- b. Demand for the redress of the same.
- c. Provisions for present and future succession.
- 6. Triennial Act, Dec. 22, 1694 (Adams and Stephens, 471).
- 7. Act of settlement, June 12, 1701 (Adams and Stephens, 475-90; Lee, 431-6).
 - a. Provision for succession.
 - b. Other provisions.
- 8. Important constitutional results of William's reign; rise of the cabinet and of ministerial responsibility.

REFERENCES.

Source Materials : Adams and Stephens ; Lee, 417-42 ; *Calendar of State Papers* (Will. and Mary), 1689-92, 3 vols. ; Somers, *Tracts* ; *State Tracts* : Luttrell, *State Affairs*, 1678-1714 ; Howell, *State Trials* ; *Statutes of the Realm* : Duckett, *Penal Laws and Test Act* ; Dalrymple's *Memoirs* ; D'Avaux's *Dispatches* ; Carstares' *State Papers and Letters* ; *Shrewsbury Correspondence*.

Secondary Authorities : Hale, *Fall of the Stuarts* ; Green, IV, 6 ff. ; Macaulay, *Hist. of England* ; Ranke, *Hist. of England*, IV ; Creasy, 274-302 ; Taylor, II ; Hallam, II, 266 ff. ; Gneist, *Hist. Parliament* ; *Ib.*, *Constitution*, II, 305 ff. ; Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover* ; Head, *The Fallen Stuarts* ; Mackintosh, *History of the Revolution* . . 1688 ; Vaughan, *Memorials of the Stuart Dynasty*, II, 478 ff.

SECT. XI. THE AGE OF ANNE.

- I. Marlborough and the War of the " Spanish Succession."
- II. The Union with Scotland.
- III. Social Life.
- IV. Literature and Thought.

REFERENCES.

Adams and Stephens, 479-83 (Act of Union, 1707), 483-5 (Place Act, 1707), 485-7 (Riot Act, 1715) ; Lee, 445-55 (Act of Union) ; Coxe, *Memoirs of Marlborough* ; Morris, *Age of Anne* ; Burton, *Reign of Anne* ; Wyon, *History of Great Britain during the Reign of Queen Anne* ; Makinon, *The Union of England and Scotland* ; Wolseley, *Life of John Churchill* ; Thompson, *Memoirs of Sarah Duchess of Marlborough* ; Collins, *Bolingbrook and Voltaire* ; lives of Bolingbroke, by Brosch, Harrop, Hassall, and Macknight ; Green IV ; Lecky, *England in the Eighteenth Century* ; Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Anne* ; and the works of Oldmixon and Boyer.

CHAPTER II.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY AND CABINET GOVERNMENT, 1760-1902

SECT. 1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE III, 1760-1820.

I. Character and education of George III.

1. Personal traits (see Thackeray's *Four Georges*); his intellect.
2. Bias given by his education; influence of his mother; of Bute.
3. His policy and character as compared with the first two Georges.
4. Increase of the influence of the crown as the mark of his reign; what progress had already been made (see May, I, 15 ff.).

II. The state of parliamentary representation: at the beginning of the reign the House of Commons did not represent the people.

1. Because dominated by the Whig oligarchy (Green, IV, 124, 210 ff., passim).
 - a. Walpole ministry, 1721-1741: character and policy of Walpole.
 - b. Ministry of Cartaret (Lord Granville), 1741-1744.
 - c. Henry Pelham, 1744-1754.
 - d. Duke of Newcastle, 1754-1756 (brother of H. Pelham).
 - e. William Pitt, 1756-1761: Newcastle at head of treasury; popularity of Pitt; his policy; his oratory; elements of his greatness.
2. Because of its composition.
 - a. Restrictions on the electoral franchise.
 - b. Borough representation.
 1. Creation of parliamentary boroughs by royal charter in reign of Charles II (see May).
 2. "Pocket," "nomination," and "rotten boroughs"; sale of seats controlled by peers.
 3. Official influence in large towns.
 4. Disfranchisement of large cities.

- c. Conservative control of county representation.
- d. Condition of Scotch and Irish representation.
- e. Dishonest trial of election petitions: The Grenville Act; the present law (see May).

III. How George III secured control of the House of Commons.

- 1. By sale of seats; the "Nabobs."
- 2. By the distribution of offices, civil, military, and judicial; history of acts restricting.
- 3. By distribution of pensions: legal and secret pensions; restrictive legislation (see Creasy and May).
- 4. By direct bribery, under Bute, Grenville, Rockingham, and North (see May).
- 5. By public loans and by lotteries.

IV. How George III subdivided the Whig factions and asserted the right both to reign and govern, 1760-1770.

- 1. Theory of government.
 - a. Meaning of ministerial responsibility; of the maxim, "The king should have no politics, can do no wrong."
 - b. Danger of the doctrine asserted by George III.
- 2. The succession of Whig ministries or factions.
 - a. Last days of the Pitt ministry, 1760-1; two-fold cause of the fall.
 - b. Bute ministry, 1762-3: character of Bute; significance of his being a Scot (see *Letters of Junius*).
 - c. Grenville, 1763-1765: character; the stamp act.
 - d. Rockingham, 1765-1766: leader of main branch of the Whigs.
 - e. Chatham, 1766-8.
 - 1. Attempts to form a ministry, 1763, 1765: why did he fail?
 - 2. On what principle was the ministry formed, 1766?
 - 3. He retires, 1767; Grafton remains acting premier.
 - 4. Pitt and the American war.
 - f. Lord North, 1770-1782: the king triumphant; character and intellect of North.

GENERAL REFERENCES FOR THE AGE OF GEORGE III.

Source Materials: Adams and Stephens, 492 ff.; *Calendar of Home Office Papers*, 1760-75, 3 vols.; Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*; Hansard's *Debates*; Woodfall, *Letters of Junius*; Walpole, *Memoirs of the Court of George II*; *Ib*,

Memoirs of the Court of George III; Letters; Hervey, Memoirs; Russell, Memorials and Correspondence of Charles James Fox; Wilkes, North Briton; Donne's Correspondence between George III and Lord North; Statutes of the Realm; and the other materials mentioned in the "Select Bibliography."

*Secondary Authorities: Mahon, History of England (1713-83); Massey, Hist. of England during the Reign of George III; Adolphus, History of England (1760-1820); Lecky, England in the 18th Century, III, 1-288; May, Constitutional History, I, 15 ff., 263-5 (parliamentary representation); Green, IV, 137 ff., 156 ff., 166 ff., 176 ff. (Pitt), 197 ff. (George III and America), 213 (George III and Parliament); Hosmer, Anglo-Saxon Liberty, chap. xiii; Trevelyan, American Revolution; *Ib.*, Early History of Charles James Fox; Russell, Life and Times of . . . Fox; Stanhope, Life of . . . William Pitt; Fitzgerald, Life and Times of John Wilkes; Waite, Life of the Duke of Wellington; Goldwin Smith, United Kingdom, II, 195 ff.; Earle, English Premiers from Sir Robert Walpole to Robert Peel; Adams, Eng. Party Leaders and Eng. Parties from Walpole to Peel.*

SECT. II. THE RELATIONS OF THE PARLIAMENT TO THE CROWN, THE LAW, AND THE PEOPLE (MAY, I, ch. vii., 364-463).

I. The struggle with Wilkes: abuse of parliamentary privilege and violation of liberty of the subject.

1. Parliament of 1763-1768.

- a. The alleged libel in "North Briton," No. 45.
General character of the "North Briton."
- b. "General warrants": arrest of Wilkes and the
printers (May, II, 245 ff., 111 ff.); general
search warrants declared illegal (May, II,
249-252).
- c. Illegal proceedings in the Commons; proceedings
in the King's Bench: Wilkes outlawed and
absconds; he is expelled from the House;
actions for damage (May, II, 247-9; I, 364
ff.)
- d. Proceedings in the Lords: *The Essay on Woman*
and the *Veni Creator*; the *Droit Le Roy* (May,
I, 369; II, 111).

2. Parliament of 1768-1774.

- a. Imprisonment by King's Bench, 1768, for out-
lawry and libel.
- b. Elected for Middlesex: his expulsion; grounds
of; rights of constituents violated (May, I,
370-1).
- c. Wilkes thrice reelected; the case of seating Col.
Luttrell (May, I, 374-5).
- d. Efforts to reverse proceedings of the Commons;
position of Chatham; of Grenville, Rocking-
ham, and others.

II. The struggle for publication of debates.

1. The privilege of excluding strangers; origin and relaxation of the right (May, I, 384 ff.)
2. Exclusions, 1770 (May, I, 386-88); contest between the Houses.
3. Contest of the Commons with the printers, 1771.
 - a.* Progress of reporting and publication of debates.
 - b.* Misrepresentations of reporters (May, I, 392-4).
 - c.* Complaints against Thompson and Wheble, 1771; against others.
 - d.* Struggle with the Mayor and aldermen of London.
 - e.* Liberty of reporting established; present state of the law.
 - f.* Publication of division lists.

III. Publication of parliamentary reports and papers.

1. Publication of statistical and financial reports.
2. Publication of other documents.

IV. Petitions to Parliament.

1. The practice in the Middle Ages.
2. Petitions to the Long Parliament.
3. Practice after restoration; petitions restrained by statute (May, I, 411).
4. Petitions, 1688-1779: little use of.
5. Origin of modern system, 1779; the Gordon petitions and riots.
6. Petitions for Parliamentary reform and abolition of slave trade, 1782; the practice to 1824.
7. Increase of number of petitions since 1824.
8. 1839: Debates on presentation of petitions forbidden by statute (May, I, 417).

V. Pledges of members.

1. Rise of the practice.
2. The importance of the principle involved.

VI. Privileges abandoned.

1. Those of servants, 1770.
2. Immunity of members and servants from distress of goods and civil suits abandoned, 1772.
3. Kneeling of prisoners at the bar abandoned, 1772.
4. Privilege and the courts.
 - a.* The Burdett case, 1810.
 - b.* The Hansard cases, 1836 ff.; question of right of Parliament to publish papers affecting character.
 - c.* The act of 3 and 4 Victoria (May, I, 426-7).
 - d.* The case of Howard vs. Gosset.

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SECT. III. THE STRUGGLE FOR REFORM OF PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION, 1766-1885.

- I. Social and political conditions at the beginning of the agitation for reform (May, I, 310-312).
 1. Social degradation.
 2. Political corruption.
 3. "How popular principles were kept alive."
- II. Suggestions and unsuccessful attempts for reform, 1766-1830.
 1. Criticisms and suggestions of Chatham, 1766, 1770 (Walpole, *Memoirs*, IV, 58).
 2. Scheme of Wilkes, 1776: its enlightened principles.
 3. Duke of Richmond's Measure, 1780: rejected without division: popular demands and petitions.
 4. Pitt's schemes.
 - a. His motion for a committee of inquiry, 1782.
 - b. His three resolutions, 1783 (May, I, 315 ff.).
 - c. Favors the Yorkshire petition, 1784.
 - d. His Bill, 1885: its objectionable features.
 5. Flood's motion, 1790.
 6. Plans of the "Friends of the People" headed by Grey and Erskine, 1792-1797 (May, I, 319-321).
 - a. Grey's notice, 1792.
 - b. His motions of 1793, 1797.
 7. Burdett's scheme, 1809: electoral districts, franchise to be vested in male taxpayers; in 1818 he proposes universal male suffrage, ballot, equal election districts, etc.
 8. Lord John Russell's measures.
 - a. 1820, three resolutions (May, I, 324).
 - b. The Grampond disfranchisement bill, 1820, 1821 (Adams and Stephens, 507-8).
 - c. Motions of 1821, 1822-3, 1826.
 9. Blandford's motion, 1829-1830.

III. The Reform act of 1832 (Adams and Stephens, 514-26).

1. Immediate causes of the final struggle.
 - a. Leicester and Northampton cases, 1826-7.
 - b. Penryn and East Retford cases, 1826-8; weak policy of opposition.
 - c. Attempts to enfranchise Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester, 1830: why resisted?
 - d. Death of George IV; deposition of Charles X of France.
2. Duke of Wellington's ministry; his foolish declaration cause of fall.
3. Lord Grey's ministry: cause of dissolution of Parliament?
4. Debates on the three successive Reform Bills (see Molesworth, McCarthy, Heaton, and Walpole, as cited below).
5. Provisions of Act of 1832; as to counties, as to boroughs.
6. Reform Acts for Ireland and Scotland (May, I, 340).

IV. Reform agitations and measures, 1832-1867 (May, I, 340-363; Heaton, 133 ff.).

V. Reform bill of 1867, 1884, 1885 (Wilson, *State*, 396-8; May, II, 586 ff; Heaton, 133 ff.; McCarthy, *Our Own Times*, II, 219 ff.; Adams and Stephens, 553-5).

VI. The ballot law, 1872: previous mode of election, its evils: significance of the change (Adams and Stephens, 540-3).

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SECT. IV. THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LIBERTY.

- I. Origin and history of Civic and Religious disabilities, to 1760 (May, II, ch. xiii, pp. 291-313. See also preceding syllabi and references).
 1. Establishment of the Reformed church in England.
 - a. Policy of Elizabeth: oaths of Supremacy and Conformity; civil disabilities.
 - b. Rise of non-conformity.
 - c. Catholic faith associated with treason.
 - d. Close connection of the church with the state.
 2. The Scotch Reformed Church; anomalous position of the Irish Protestant Church; reform forced upon Ireland.
 3. State of religious liberty under James I and Charles I.
 4. Restrictive legislation of the Restoration period; persecutions.
 - a. Corporation Act.
 - b. Five Mile Act.
 - c. Conventicle Act.
 - d. Test Acts, 1765, 1773 (sacrament and renunciation of transubstantiation for temporal office: Hallam, II, 151).
 5. Toleration Act, 1689.
 - a. Does not repeal statutes exacting uniformity.
 - b. Relieves dissenting ministers from various penalties (May, II, 305).
 - c. Requires subscription to Thirty-nine Articles, except 4.
 - d. Quakers indulged.
 - e. No toleration for Unitarians or Catholics; Act of 1760 against Catholics (May, II, 306).
 6. Oath of Abjuration, 13 W. I. (Hallam, II, 403).
 7. Cruel laws against Catholics of Ireland; and those of England, 1700-1760.
 8. How Dissenters evaded the laws.
 - a. "Occasional Conformity."
 - b. "Acts of Indemnity" (May, II, 308).
 9. State of the church and religion at the accession of George III; influence of Wesley and Whitefield; revival of old dissenting sects; state of Irish and Scotch churches.

SECT. V. THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS AND CIVIL LIBERTY
(Continued).

- I. Progress of Agitation and Legislation, 1810-1820 (May, II, ch. xiii).
 1. Why the Regent disappointed the hope of reformers.
 2. Relief to Protestant dissenting ministers, 1812; and to Unitarians, 1813.
 3. Various efforts to relieve Catholics; work of Grattan, Canning, and Plunkett.
 4. Relief of naval and military officers in England, 1813-1817 (May, II, 356).
 5. Failure to relieve from declaration against transubstantiation, 1819. Death of Grattan, 1820.
- II. The reign of George IV, 1820-1830 : Emancipation secured.
 1. Roman Catholic Peers Bill rejected, 1822.
 2. Ineffectual attempts to amend the marriage laws, 1819-1827.
 3. Death of Canning, 1827.
 4. The final struggle, 1828-9.
 - a. Relief of Dissenters by repeal of the Corporations and Test Acts, 1828.
 1. Position of the Wellington ministry.
 2. Liberality of the English bishops.
 3. Bigotry of certain lay peers.
 4. Substance of the act; significance of the declaration: "On the true faith of a Christian."
 - b. Emancipation of the Catholics, 1829 (Adams and Stephens, 510-13; Lee, 497-518).
 1. Influence of the (Clare) election of O'Connell, 1824 (May, II, 371).
 2. Influence of the "Catholic Association."
 3. Opposition of the King and Bishops.
 4. The three measures carried.
 - a. Abolition of the association.
 - b. Emancipation.
 - c. Reform of Irish franchise.
- III. Removal of Jewish disabilities.
 1. Nature of Jewish disabilities (May, II, 383).
 2. Grant's motions, 1830-1834 (May, II, 383-386).
 3. 1839: admitted to oath.
 4. 1845: admitted to corporations.
 5. Admission to Parliament.
 - a. Case of Baron Rothschild, 1849-50.

- b.* Case of Mr. Solomons, 1851.
- c.* Attempt to admit by declaration, 1857.
- d.* Disabilities Act passed, 1858 (Adams and Stephens, 531-2).

IV. The struggle for the abolition of compulsory tithes (McCarthy, *Epoch of Reform*, ch. viii; May, II, 402 ff., 598).

- 1. The struggle, 1832-3 (see McCarthy): the questions of the appropriation of surplus revenue and commutation.
- 2. The Braintree cases, 1837-1853 (see May).
- 3. Compulsory rates abolished, 1868 (May, II, 598).

V. Irish Church disestablished, 1869.

- 1. History of the Church in England (May, II, 444-459).
- 2. Maynooth College established.
- 3. Disestablishment of the Church, 1869.

SECT. VI. THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC EMANCIPATION.

A. Relief of the Working Classes.

I. Legislation relating to work in Mines (Ward's *Victoria*, I, 58-9, II, 49-50, 63-5; Molesworth, II, 83-4; McCarthy's *Epoch of Reform*, 93-98; Walpole, IV, 372; especially Hodder's *Life of Shaftesbury*, I, 137-139, 413-51, II, 356, III, 386-7, passim).

- 1. Child-jobbing for mines and factories (Hodder, I, 137-9; Molesworth, II, 84).
- 2. Horrible state of children and women in mines (Hodder, I, 413 ff.; Walpole, IV, 372-3). The work of the Earl of Shaftesbury.
- 3. The Commission of Inquiry, 1840; its report.
- 4. The Mines and Collieries Bill, 1842 (Hodder, I, 429 ff.)
 - a.* Speech of Shaftesbury.
 - b.* Opposition of Cobden; relation of the mines and factory agitation to the Chartist and Gorn Law movements.
 - c.* Indifference of Lords (Hodder, I, 429-30).
 - d.* Substance of the Act (Ward, II, 64; Molesworth, II, 84-5; McCarthy, 96-7): employment of girls and women under ground prohibited; and that of boys under ten years.
 - e.* Later acts (Ward, II, 64-5).

II. Factory Legislation (Ward, I, 57 ff.; II, 53 ff.; McCarthy, 93 ff.; Walpole, IV, 356-63; Hodder, I, 131-169, 451 ff., and index at Factory Legislation; May, II, 567).

1. Relation of the old paternal and restrictive systems to the new doctrine of state socialism.
2. Degraded condition and general distress of the English working classes (Ward, II, 47-53; Walpole, IV, 358-364; Hodder, I, 130 ff.).
3. Horrors of the factory system (Hodder, I, 139); the abuse of apprenticeship; hosiery trade (Ward).
4. Early legislation (Ward, II, 50-4; Hodder, I, 141 ff.).
 - a. The first Sir Robert Peel's Act, 1802, for relief of apprentices (Hodder, I, 14).
 - b. Peel's Act, 1819; use of children under nine prohibited; young persons under sixteen limited to twelve hours.
 - c. Hobhouse's Act, 1825.
5. General movement for short hours and reform, 1830 (Ward, II, 53 ff.; Hodder, I, 143 ff., II, 188 ff.).
 - a. Richard Castler's letter to the *Leeds' Mercury*, 1830; work of Sadler.
 - b. The Ten-hour Bill, 1831-3 (work of Shaftesbury).
 - c. The Poor Law Conspiracy.
 - d. Ten Hours Act passed, 1847 (Hodder, II, 188 ff.).

III. Relief of the chimney sweeps: Shaftesbury's work (see Hodder, index).

B. *The Corn Laws and the Struggle for their Abolition*

McCarthy's *Epoch*, 175-193; McCarthy's *Own Times*, I, chap. XIV; Molesworth, II, 178-251, 112 ff.; Walpole, IV, 392-9; Martineau, index; May, II, 183, 572-3, 81, 239; Bright, IV; Knight, VIII; Muller, *Pol. Hist.*, index; Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, index; Bisset, *Anti-Corn Law Struggle*.

I. Origin and development of restrictive legislation to 1838.

1. The law of 1815.
 - a. Based on that of 1770.
 - b. Substance: Practically forbids importation of foreign wheat until home price shall reach 80s. the quarter (8 bu.).
 - c. Land owner's measure and hostile to trade.
 - d. Results: price sinks to 45 s.: causes (Walpole, IV, 392, note 1).
2. Law of 1822: imports forbidden until price reaches 70s.
3. The law of 1828.
 - a. The sliding scale: this is the Tory plan as opposed to the policy of fixed import rates of Russell and the Whigs.
 - b. Results (Walpole, IV, 394).

II. The Corn Laws and victory.

1. The effect on economic legislation of the Reform Act of 1832.
2. Hume's motion lost, 1834; motion for repeal of the corn laws lost, 1837: signs of a change of sentiment.
3. Origin of the League.
 - a. The London Association of 1836.
 - b. The Manchester Association of 1838; rise of Cobden and Bright; work of Villiers; the League formed.
 - c. The industrial depression of 1837-1842; high prices of grain; distress (Walpole, IV, 362; Wright's *Report on Industrial Depressions*; McCarthy's *Epoch*, 178-9).
 - d. Work of the League; circulars, lectures, and meetings; "taxed" and "untaxed" loaves (Walpole, IV, 397); growing minorities for Villiers' motions.
4. The Whig ministry of Melbourne superseded by the Conservative ministry of Sir Robert Peel, 1841-6.
 - a. Anomaly of Peel's position; his gradual conversion to free trade (McCarthy's *Epoch*, 185).
 - b. Continued struggle to 1845.
 - c. The Irish Potato Famine, 1845, and its effect (McCarthy's *Epoch*, 180; McCarthy's *Own Times*, ch. 17; Molesworth, II, 205).
 - d. The measure carried, 1846.
 - e. The rise of Disraeli; his speech against Peel marks his leadership of Tory protectionist party (see McCarthy's *Own Times*).
5. Repeal of sugar duties and navigation laws, 1846-1849 (Molesworth, II, 157 ff.; McCarthy's *Epoch*, 189 ff.).

C. The Struggle for the People's Charter (*Chartism*), 1837-1848.

(Molesworth, II, chap. V ff., 252 ff.; McCarthy's *Epoch*, 193-208; McCarthy's *Own Times*, I, 84-103, II, 9-38, chap. 18; Walpole, IV, 379-92; Martineau, *index*; Bright, III, IV; Knight, VIII; Fyffe, *Modern Europe*, *index*; Muller, *Pol. Hist.*, *index*; Gammage, *The Chartist Movement*.)

I. Origin of the Movement.

1. Dissatisfaction of the laboring classes with the Reform Act of 1832; Russell's declaration that reform was closed.
2. Early agitation for the Chartist principles: Paine, Tooke, Grey (Walpole, IV, 380-1); Burdett, Cobbett, Hunt, and others, 1817-1832.

3. Distress causes a revival of the movement in 1837-8.
 - a. The name given by O'Connell.
 - b. The Birmingham meeting.
 - c. The Six Points: ballot, universal suffrage (manhood suffrage), annual parliaments, abolition of property qualification for members of Parliament, payment of members, electoral districts.

II. History of the Movement, 1837-1841.

1. 1838: monster meetings; proposed suppression; Russell defends (Walpole, IV, 182-3).
2. Attorney-General Campbell's funeral oration, 1839 (see McCarthy).
3. Meeting of 200,000 at Kersal Moor.
 - a. Incendiary speeches of Stephens (Walpole, IV, 383-4).
 - b. Arrest, trial, and conviction of Stephens.
 - c. Petitions presented by Fielden and Lord Stanhope to Parliament.
4. Leaders: Feargus O'Connor; Lovett, Secretary of Workingmen's Association; Vincent, a compositor; Ernest Jones, on *Northern Star* (Walpole, IV, 384).
5. The National Convention in London; petition rejected by the Commons: causes riots.
6. Riots in Birmingham, 1837; the city sacked; police and army strengthened; Vincent and Lovett sentenced; other measures and convictions.
7. Frost and the march on Newport, in South Wales, 1837.
 - a. Failure of the attack.
 - b. Trial of Frost and others.

III. The second movement. 1848.

1. The year of revolution, 1848.
2. The Chartist Convention in London.
3. Meeting on Kennington Common, April 10, 1848; the petition to Parliament (McCarthy's *Own Times*, II, 16).
4. Collapse of the movement.
5. Coincidence of Chartism with the "Young Ireland" movement (see McCarthy's two works).

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In addition to the literature above cited, Hansard's *Debates*, the *Statutes*, and the "Bills Public," "Reports," and other materials comprised in the *British Documents* ("Blue Books") are in constant requisition. See also the documents contained in Lee, 530-41; and consult Rogers, *Public Addresses of John Bright*; Vince, *John Bright*; Apjohn, *Richard Cobden and the Free Traders*; Schwabe, *Reminiscences of Richard Cobden*; Traill, *Social England*, VI.

SECT. VII. THE ELEMENTS OF CABINET-PARLIAMENTARY
GOVERNMENT.

I. General Principles (Traill, *Central Government*, 1-2.)

1. Meaning of Parliamentary, cabinet, and monarchical government respectively.
2. Inter-relation of monarchy, ministry, and Parliament.
 - a. Before 1688: king governed; since 1688, he is "irresponsible" and "can do no wrong;" but for a time controlled foreign and military affairs.
 - b. Ministers have seats in Parliament, belong to the party of the majority in Commons, and are responsible. This principle was recognized, 1696; formally declared (by Lord Rochester), 1711.

II. Development of the Cabinet (Traill, *Central Government*, chap. ii).

1. The cabinet is in theory practically a committee of the privy council, and as a cabinet is not known to the law. (But see Anson, as cited).
 - a. Rise of the Privy Council and its original importance.
 - b. Attempt of Lord Clarendon (under Charles II) to revive the Privy Council: four committees constituted; that for foreign affairs absorbs nearly all functions.
 - c. Attempt of Sir W. Temple to revive it, 1679: to consist of thirty members; Temple gives it up and forms an inner council (Anson, II).
 - d. Privy Council exists:
 1. As a legislative body under authority of Parliament.
 2. As an administrative body, but acts in certain committees (to be mentioned later).
 3. Privy Council, as a body, may not meet, except under presidency of the sovereign.
2. Difference between the "ministry" and the "cabinet."
3. Stages in the growth of the cabinet (Traill, 24).
 - a. Before Charles I, it was an irregular camarilla: no authoritative position separate from the Privy Council.

- b. Under Charles I and Charles II, it was called "cabinet;" without recognized status.
- c. From William III to ca. 1783, it was the *de facto*, not the *de jure*, executive; but regarded with jealousy.
- d. In the nineteenth century, it attains full development, resting on the following principles (Traill, 24-5).
 - 1. Cabinet consisting of members of Parliament.
 - 2. Of ministers of same political views, chosen from the party of majority in the Commons.
 - 3. Ministers to prosecute a concerted policy.
 - 4. Under common responsibility.
 - 5. Under common subordination to one chief, the Premier.

III. Composition of the cabinet and ministry.

- 1. The appointment of the cabinet (Wilson, *State*, 383 ff.; Anson, II, 122).
- 2. The Prime Minister or Premier; slow evolution of the office (Traill, 21-3; Anson, II, 116-122).
 - a. Relation to his colleagues.
 - b. Relation to the crown.
- 3. Members of the cabinet (20 in number, 1902: *Statesman's year book*, 9-11).
 - a. Prime Minister and Lord Privy Seal.
 - b. Lord Chancellor.
 - c. Lord President of the Council.
 - d. First Lord of the Treasury.
 - e. Chancellor of the Exchequer.
 - f. The five Secretaries of State: for Home Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Colonies, India, and War.
 - g. First Lord of Admiralty.
 - h. President of Board of Trade, President of the Board of Agriculture, Chief Secretary for Ireland, President of Local Government Board, Secretary for Scotland.
 - i. Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, First Commissioner of Works, Postmaster General.
- 4. Rule as to re-election of a member of the Commons who enters the cabinet? How may a member resign? The "Chiltern Hundreds."

5. When must a ministry resign? What is the effect of resignation on Parliament?
6. Theory of united responsibility; of individual responsibility.
7. Rules of Procedure in cabinet deliberations.
8. Initiative of the cabinet in legislation.

IV. The Administrative department.

1. The five great "offices" of State (Wilson, 387-8; Traill, 55-162; Anson, II, 137 ff.).
2. The Treasury (Wilson, 389-90; Traill, 31-54; Anson, II, 161).
 - a. Evolution of the Department.
 - b. Relation of Chancellor of the Exchequer and the First Lord of the Treasury.
 - c. Subordinate to the Treasury is the office of Public Works.
3. The Admiralty Board or Naval Office.
 - a. A commission of six members.
 - b. Composed of the First Lord and five Junior Lords of the Admiralty.
4. The Board of Trade.
 - a. In form a committee of the Privy Council.
 - b. Composed of a President who possesses practically all the powers and of certain members *ex officio* (Wilson, 388).
 - c. Functions: oversees commercial affairs; superintends state railways; inspects passenger and merchant vessels; is the Statistical Bureau of the Kingdom, etc.
5. Local Government Board: practically the English Department of the Interior (Wilson, 389).
 - a. In form a committee of the Privy Council.
 - b. Composed, like Board of Trade, of a President and members *ex officio* with same relative powers.
 - c. Functions.
 1. General.
 2. Special; includes post-office and telegraph (Wilson, 389).
6. Departments of the Privy Council.
 - a. The Educational Department.
 - b. The Agricultural Department.

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Traill, *Central Government*, chaps. I, II; Macaulay, I, 232; Wilson's *State*, 378 ff.; Fonblanque, *How we are Governed*, Letter VI; Hallam, II, 393-9; Escott, 372-3; Gneist, *Constitutional History*, index; *Ib.*, *Hist. of Parliament*; Taswell-Langmead, 696-715; Amos, *Fifty Years of Eng. Const.*, 266 ff.; Anson, *Law and Custom of the Const.*, II, 95-132; Bagehot, *Const. Hist.*; Bryce, *Am. Commonwealth*, I; Allard, *Parliamentary Elections*; Clifford, *Private Bill Legislation*; Torrens, *History of Cabinets*; *Ib.*, *Reform of Procedure in Parliament*; Ewald, *The Crown and Its Advisers*; May, *Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings, and Usage of Parliament*; Macdonagh, *The Book of Parliament*; Lewis, *Essays on the Administration of Great Britain*; Macpherson, *Baronage and Senate*; Courtney, *The Working Constitution*; Harris, *History of the Radical Party in Parliament*; Skottowe, *Short History of Parliament*; Bisset, *Short History of the Eng. Parliament*; Smith, *History of Parliament*; Jennings, *Anecdotal History of the British Parliament*; Kinnear, *Our House of Commons: its Realities and Romance*; Palgrave, *House of Commons*; Pike, *House of Lords*; Todd, *Parliamentary Government*; Cox, *Institutions of the English Government*.

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